1: Rivers
101, 103 ●

[For names, locations and distinctive features of Toda villages, see category 116, pp. 644-678]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The plateau of the Nilgiris is divided into four districts, ordinarily known by the names, Todanad, Mekanad, Peranganad, and Kundanad, and these districts are recognised by the Todas. The Todanad is the largest district, and is the part where the majority of the Todas live. Their own name for it is Marsâdr. 101 103 131 162

The Mekanad is called by the Todas Karâdr, and is now very sparsely inhabited, though there are many old villages in the district.

The Peranganad is the eastern part of the hills, and is called by the Todas Purgòdr, and is the chief seat of a few of their clans.

The fourth district, or Kundanad, is that already mentioned as the Kundahs in the south-west part of the hills. It is the chief seat of one Toda clan, but it also contains villages belonging to others. It is especially visited in the dry season, since its large rainfall often provides ample pasturage when this is burnt up on other parts of the hills. The Toda name of the district is Mêdr.

A few Todas live near Gudalur in the Wainad, some 3,000 feet lower than the main plateau.

METHODS

The description of Toda life to be given in this book is the outcome of an attempt to apply rigorous methods in the investigation of sociology and religion. In the brief time which was at my disposal, it was essential to employ methods of investigation which would enable me to tell with some certainty whether I was obtaining accurate and trustworthy information. Two great sources of error in anthropological investigation are the dependence on the evidence of only a few individuals and the necessity of paying for information. 121 124

The first source of error was easily avoided, and I was able to obtain my information from a large body of witnesses, usually independently of one another. As regards the second source, the Todas are inveterate beggars, and are now thoroughly accustomed to receive payment for every service rendered to the European, even of the most trivial kind. Payment for information was inevitable, but I 124

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

attempted any criticism or comment on the work of others except on special occasions when my own information is lacking or when I am uncertain as to the truth of their statements. Except in those cases in which I definitely refer to the work of others, every statement made in this book is the outcome of my own inquiry or observation. Whenever my account differs from those of others, it may be accepted that I have inquired into the discrepancy and that my account represents the result of a careful investigation. 114 127

As some of the accounts of the Todas were written many years ago, there is always the possibility that two dissimilar accounts may both be true and that the differences may represent changes in custom with lapse of time. There is one fact, however, which makes it probable that this explanation of discrepancies is not the true one. The accounts of the Todas which show the closest correspondence with my own are some of the earliest, especially the book of Captain Harkness, published in 1832, and the papers of Bernhard Schmid and C. F. Muzzy, published in 1837 and 1844 respectively. In many cases my work agrees more closely with these than with the accounts of later observers.

This is, perhaps, a suitable place to mention what I believe to be the chief source of error in previous accounts of the Todas. In their extensive intercourse with the Badagas, the Todas use the language of this people, with which they appear to be perfectly familiar. The Toda language is very difficult to understand, and the literature shows that from the first, most of those who have investigated Toda customs have used the Badaga language or Tamil as their means of communication. Every Toda village, every Toda institution or office, and nearly every object used by the Todas has its Badaga name as well as its proper Toda name, and, owing to intercourse through the intermediation of the Badagas, these names have come to be used not only by nearly all who have written on the Todas, but also in official documents connected with the people. 114 177 192

The names by which the Toda villages are known to Europeans are always the Badaga names and not those of 103 114 191

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

103 114 191

the Todas, and similarly with the names of institutions such as clans, dairies, or ceremonies. The practice of giving Badaga names in their intercourse with Europeans has become so engrained that a Toda invariably uses these names when speaking to a European. During the first few weeks of my work, I received exclusively Badaga names, and to the end of my visit, whenever I visited a new district, the Badaga names would crop up till the people found that I wanted Toda and not Badaga. Kiunievan, who was the chief informant of Mr. Breeks in 1872, is still alive, and when I asked him why he gave Mr. Breeks the Badaga names in every case, he answered "He did not seem to want anything else," and this answer seems to me to give the clue to much of the error which has found its way into many of the accounts which have been given of the Todas.

114 177

One of the most serious errors which has arisen in this way is one connected with the Toda clans. Every account which has been given of the clan-system of the Todas is that of a system which is current among the Badagas as the Toda system, but has only a limited correspondence with the actual system as it is in use among the Todas themselves. Every Toda, if asked by a European to what clan or division he belongs, will promptly give his division according to the Badaga classification, and this has led to the incorporation of this classification in all the accounts of the Todas which deal with their social organisation.

128

Some words are necessary about the general plan of the book. I should have preferred to begin with the social organisation, and to approach the religious aspect of the life of the Todas through the ceremonies accompanying the chief incidents of life, including birth, marriage, and death. The ideas borrowed from the ritual of the dairy, however, so pervade the whole of Toda ceremonial, that I have been obliged to consider the ritual of the dairy at an early stage. After a preliminary chapter sketching the general character and life of the people, I have therefore given a full description of the elaborate ceremonial which centres round the dairy; and on this follow the accounts of other ceremonies and sacred institutions and a general discussion of the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

551 frequently used by the Teivaliol than by the Tartharol, and in both divisions it is rare in older generations.

I do not know the meaning of the terminations in *-olv* and *-eidi*: it is noteworthy, however, that *-olv* is also a frequent ending of the names of dairies.

The termination *-ner* or *-ners* sometimes becomes *-ntr*, and it may be the word for water, possibly with the idea of 'spring.'

The usual terminations of female names are *-veli*, *-veni* or *-vani*, *-eimi*, and *-idj* or *-ids*. Of these, the first is by far the most frequent, being usually pronounced with a *th* sound, as in *-velthli* or *-vilthli*. It is possibly the same word as a frequent Indian name of Venus, which is also the Toda name for this planet. The word also means silver and in the form *pelthiti* is used for 'white.'

The termination *-veni* or *-vani* is probably derived from *pani*, which is said to be an ancient name for a Toda woman. Occasionally the latter form occurred, as in the name of Sinadapani (67), and one of the wives of Kwoten was named Kwaterpani. I know nothing of the derivation of the terminations *-eimi* and *-ids*.

The names of Todas are often derived from villages, dairies or dairy vessels, hills and their deities, and objects of various kinds. There seems to be no objection to use the names of deities or of such sacred objects as the *mani* as personal names, but only as those of men. Recently the Todas have [177] begun to use words of Hindu or even English origin for the names of their children.

● 103 It is the names of men which are chiefly derived from villages, and at least twenty examples occur in the genealogies. 551 In some cases the name of the village is used without any suffix, as in Ushadr (48) and Madsu (58); in other cases one or other of the customary terminations is used, as in Keradrkutan[1] (26), Nongarsivan (62), Kuirsiners (18), and Karseidi (8). The special point of interest here is that the names of villages which have now disappeared may be preserved as personal names; thus Harkness mentions the village of Kattaul as being near Ootacamund, and, though the

[1] This name also occurs in the story of Kwoten.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

village has now disappeared, its memory is preserved in the name Katolvan (44), borne by one of the Melgarsol, to whom the village belonged. Again, the village of Kepurs, an extinct village mentioned in the legend of Kwoten, is preserved in the name of Kepursvan (18), borne by one of Kwoten's clan, the Panol. 103 551

In general, when a man receives a name derived from a village or other place, the village or place is one belonging to his own clan. Names may be derived from *ti* places as well as from ordinary villages, of which Makars (10) and Pursas (42) are examples.

The special feature of interest about these sources of nomenclature is that personal names may thus preserve records of the past, and a full investigation of the genealogies from this point of view might bring to light the names of many other villages now extinct.

Names are also derived from dairies, buffalo-pens, stones, and other objects of the village; thus Tarziolv, the special name of the *kudrpali* of Kars, is borne by a member of the Karsol (15), and Tilipa (12) is probably a corruption of Tilipoh. A boy of Nidrsi is named Punatu (43) after the buffalo-pen of his village, and the men called Agar (7), Pepners (44), and Persinkudr (16), have received names connected with the operations of the dairy. 551

The names of stones occur in the examples Menkars (10) and Mutchud (45). Several men are named after the sacred bells, or *mani*, of which examples are Nalani (35), Kerani (35), Pongg (47), while Mudriners (57) is named after Mudrani, one of the *patatmani* of Kiudr. The name of Eshkiaguln of Kars (8) is very much like that of one of the bells of Nidrsi, Eshkiakudr, and in one case a man is called Maniners (62).

The *kwarsam* of the prayers form a frequent source of personal names. Thus the name of Puthion (64) occurs in the last clause of the Kuudr prayer, and no less than six men take their names, either directly or with some modifications, from the Kiudr prayer; these are Kil, Erai, Etamudri, Kwelthipush from Kwelpushol, Kishkar from Arsvishkars, and Keikudr, who was also called Parvakudr, derived from

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
734

APPENDIX III

List of Toda Villages (not including *ti mad*)

103
361
621

Village.	*Clan.*	*Badaga name.*	*Remarks.*
Akirsikòdri	Nidrsi	Taranadmand	male funeral place.
Ârpâr	Pâm		
Ârs	Kuudr	Anekkalmand	
Artol	Taradr	Aretalmand	
Âtimad	Taradr	Karadikottumand	
Eirgûdr	Nòdrs	Nerkodumand	
Erparskòdr	Piedr	Yeppakodumand	
Îdrtol	Kuudr	Edattalmand	
Inikitj	Pâm	Bettumand	
Isharâdr	Kars	Kadimand	
Iûdi	Kwòdrdoni		male funeral place.
Îvigar	Kuudr	Kekidamand	in ruins.
Kabûdri	Pan	Tebbekudumand	male funeral place.
Kâkhûdri	Melgars	Kaggodumand	
Kalmathi	Kars	Kalmattimand	in ruins ten years.
Kalmad	Kars	Kulamand	in ruins.
Kanòdrs	Kanòdrs	Devarmand	*etudmad.*
Kapthòri	Keadr	Kunnapemand	in ruins.
Karars	Kenadr		
Karia	Kuudr	Kariyamand	
Kârs	Kars	Kandalmand	*etudmad.*
Kârsh	Karsh		
Kashtkòdr	Kuudr	Kattikadumand	unoccupied.
Katerk	Nòdrs	Kaitarkemand	
Katikâr	Kwòdrdoni	Kodsnadmand	
Katol	Melgars		in ruins.
Kâvâther	Nidrsi	Kabaiteraimand	
Kavîdi	Piedr		in the Wainad.
Keâdr	Keadr	Karrikadumand	*etudmad.*
Kebâr	Nidrsi		female funeral place.
Kedâr	Nòdrs	Kangatarmand	in ruins.
Keirod	Kuudr	Keradamand	[place.
Kerâdr	Keradr	Kannagimand	*etudmad*, also male funeral
Kerkârs	Taradr	Karrakalmand	
Keshkar	Kanòdrs		

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

103
361
621

Village.	*Clan.*	*Badaga name.*	*Remarks*
Keshker	Kars	Kakerimand	also called Minikimand.
Kidmad	Kidmad		
Kîrsâs	Melgars		
Kîtôdr	Kuudr	Kengodumand	*satimad.*
Kîûsh	Piedr	Karimulimand	
Kòdrers	Piedr	Hadamand	
Koers	Kersdr	Kokimalmand	in ruins.
Koshber	Kuudr	Kasubiramand	disused.
Koshtûdi	Nòdrs		
Kôdimad	Tarsdr	Kulimand	
Kudòdrs	Nòdrs	Kombutukkimand	
Kûdrâdr	Keadr	Kudukkadumand	
Kûdrmâs	Tarsdr	Kudimalmand	*kalolmad.*
Kûdrnâkhum	Nòdrs	Kudinagamand	
Kugwuln	Kuudr		disused.
Kûirsi	Pan	Kolimand	
Kûlikâl	Kwòdrdoni	Kolikkalmand	in ruins.
Kulkòdri	Nòdrs	Kolakkadumand	in ruins.
Kûlmud	Kars	Malaividumand	female funeral place.
Kûlthpuli	Nòdrs		female funeral place.
Kûrkalmut	Kuudr		female funeral place.
Kurvâs	Nòdrs	Kurudamand	
Kushârf	Kusharf		*etudmad.*
Kûûdi	Piedr	Anaikundukulimand	(? Kôûdi).
Kûûdr	Kuudr	Kundakodumand	*etudmad.*
Kuzhû	Kars	Kunditolmand	
Kuzhû	Kanòdrs		near Kanòdrs: disused.
Kwarâdr	Keadr	Kugadodmand	
Kwatkash	Pîm	Marumallimand	female funeral place.
Kwleg	Kuudr	Korsagumand	
Kwòdrdûni	Kwòdrdoni	Kodsdonnemand	*etudmad.*
Madûni	Pedrkars		
Madsû	Pîm	Manjathalmand	
Madsû	Kuudr		disused.
Marmars	Pîm		
Melgârs	Melgars	Manjakkalmand	*etudmas.*
Melkòdr	Kuudr	Mekkodumand	
Melûr	Pedrkars	Madaliyurmand	
Merkwadrvalth	Kanòdrs		
Meroln	Piedr		male funeral place.
Mirsôi	Melgars		male funeral place.
Mîûni	Kuudr	Marlimând	
Molkash	Kuudr	Malkodmand	
Mûsandûhi	Piedr		female funeral place.
Muldes	Nòdrs		funeral place for boys.
Muthûkòr	Kuudr		disused.
Nammiòdr	Kars	(Aganadmand)	
Nâtêrs	Pan	Natanerimand	
Nedrdoi	Tarsdr	Kilmand	in ruins.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Village.	*Clan.*	*Badaga name.*	*Remarks.*
Nelkûsh	Nòdrs	Neykadimand	in ruins.
Nerigudi	Nòdrs	Nergulimand	
Nergòdr	Kuudr		disused.
Nervem	Kwòdrdoni	Nervenamandi	in ruins.
Nervem	Nidrsi	Nadutmand	in ruins.
Neshkwòdr	Kesdr	Nedikodumand	
Nkksi	Nidrsi	Nidimand	*etudmad.*
Nrkktji	Kuudr	Nirkachimand	
Nkssht	Piedr		
Nirsk	Pîm		female funeral place.
Nòdrmad	Tarsdr	Nadumand	
Nòdrs	Nòdrs	Muttanadmand	*etudmad.*
Nongkrsi	Kars	Kettarimand	in ruins (? belonged to Piedr).
Nûln	Melgars	Nerigulimand	
Òdr	Nòdrs	Aganadmand	
Òrs	Tarsdr	Alaikudalmand	
Padegkr	Melgars	Kottapolmand	also called Kotapol, see p. 664.
Pâkhalkûdr	Kars	Bagalkodumand	
Palineers	Kuudr		
Pîm	Pîm		in ruins.
Pandrksi	Piedr		female funeral place.
Pan	Pan	Onnamand	*etudmad*: often called "One mand."
Panssti	Nidrsi	Banatimand	
Passkadi	Nidrsi		in ruins.
Pathûdr	Nòdrs	Baddankodumand	
Pathnûrs	Pan	Bettumand	
Pôdrtdes	Pedrkars	Badakalmand	*etudmad.*
Pegksi	Kesdr	Attamand	in ruins.
Peivêrs	Kuudr		
Pekhòdr	Kesdr	Onamand	"new mand."
Peletkwur	Kars	Attakonimand	
Pêrg	Pan	Yeragimand	*kalolmad.*
Perththo	Nòdrs	Perittitalmand	see p. 648.
Pesskimad	Pedrkars		female funeral place.
Pevar	Tarsdr	Pevarmand	in ruins.
Pidati	Nidrsi	Bendutimand	
Piedr	Piedr	Waragudumand	*etudmad.*
Pîtth	Kuudr		male funeral place, near Kuudr.
Pinesiwars	Nòdrs	Pinnapolamand	in ruins.
Pinshti	Nòdrs	Baggulamand	
Pinsûsh	Kuudr	Billanjikadumand	
Pishkwosht	Kanòdrs	Bikkapatimand	
Pôshkwur	Kars	Nargulimand	or Pûshkwur.
Poln	Kusharf	Pagulimand	
Pônad	Pemand	Kars	in ruins twenty years: near Peletkwur.
Pongûdr	Pedrkars		
Pûsh	Melgars	Onnekudimand	

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

103
361
621

Village.	*Clan.*	*Badaga name.*	*Remarks.*
Pòti	Piedr	Pattimand	
Potvaili	Piedr		disused.
Pûlkwûdr	Taradr	Olakkodumand	
Pulthkûln	Keradr	Bikkolmand	
Punmud	Kwòdrdoni	Bankudumand	female funeral place.
Punumikâtuni	Kuudr		female funeral place.
Purati	Nòdrs	Portimand	
Puretimokh	Melgars		female funeral place.
Purskudiâr	Pan	Porikodiyoramand	
Pushtar	Taradr	Pattaraimand	
Putamad	Kuudr		disused.
Pûtol	Nòdrs	Puttalmand	
Pûvars	Kars	Ammakoraimand	
Pûvi	Pâm	Pudiyapalamand	male funeral place.
Sultar	Pedrkars		male funeral place.
Sudvaili	Piedr		male funeral place in the Wainad.
Tâktut	Pâm		place for small male funerals.
Taknin	Kanòdrs		near Kanòdrs.
Tâmûkh	Kuudr	Tamogimand	
Târûdr	Taradr	Tarr[illegible]mand	*studmad*, and male funeral place.
Târûdrkîrsi	Kars	Kavaikkadumand	male funeral place, also *kalolmad*.
Tarkòdr	Kundr	Terkodmand	
Tavatkûdr	Piedr	Tavattakoraimand	
Tebenârs	Taradr	Urutharaimand	
Tedahteiri	Nòdrs	Talapatharaimand	
Teidr	Kusharf	Denadmand	
Telgûdr	Taradr	Telhodumand	*kalolmad*.
Tigòir	Piedr	Tukkaramand	
Tîm	Pan		male funeral place: possibly another name of Kabòdri.
Tòthikeir	Nòdrs	Jegadevarmand	in ruins.
Tôvalkan	Keradr	Tuvalkandimand	
Tûdrkwur	Kusharf	Todakaraimand	
Tûlchoven	Pâm		male funeral place.
Umgâs	Kusharf	Yemmekalmand	
Uthâdr	Melgars	Kavaimand	male and female funeral place.
Wengûdr	Taradr	Venakodumand	in ruins.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

361 scape, an harmonious whole, very striking to visitors of cultivated tastes. CHAP. VI.

103 A knowledge of Drâvidian dialects would probably show the names of their villages, of which the following are a few samples, to be mainly descriptive of localities.

Diljavênu.	Bângâdu.[7]
Kakhodi.	Karshk.[8]
Beresthro.	Mênmadd.[9]
Koana-koar.[6]	Keshkir.[10]
Ebgodu.	Kirzho.

Melkarshk.[11]

[6] Koan = *male calf*; karr = *female calf*.

[7] Bân = *sky*.

Gâdu, or godu, or gudu, affixes to names of villages; from kudu = *come together*; the same as Mand, which is Tamil for *collection*. [POPE.]

[8] Karshk = *stone*.

[9] Mên = *wood, forest*; Madd = Mand. See above.

[10] Ir, or iri, or ari, affixes to names of villages; from the Drâvidian root, which is variously written ir, ur = *be, exist*. Ûr, *a village* in Tamil, is from the same root. [POPE.]

[11] Mel = *upper*; karshk = *stone*.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

234 (2.) Called *Kiurzh*;* at the *Tiriari* mand near Sholūr.

778 (3.) Called *Tūrzhva*; at the *Tiriari* mand on the Kūndahs.

346 (4.) Near Brikapatti; called *Mutterzhva*.

Formerly there was a fifth called *Kaledva* near Mukkurti at Mudimand. It is now in ruins.

● 103 Every clan has its own *Muimands*. I give a list, with the name of the presiding God and Bell, where there is one.

621 776 778

Peiki Muimands (*Etadmands*).

Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Karia	Marialph.	
2. Yemagal	Poltivasāri.	
3. Ebgôdu	Nalkanash.	
4. Kengôdu	Kyadf	Mírzhan. Ertâtu. Kírzhan.
5. Kundigôd	Tévralth.	
6. Melgod	Nirzâlva.	
7. Pílondugôd	Térvalth.	
8. Mardini	Nirzâlva.	
9. Denâdu	Apurshanash.	
10. Wongôd	Nirzâlva.	
11. Karimolu	Toriâldf.	

Pekkan Muimands.

1. Manjakal	Môddva.
2. Narigo	Tvarieldf.

Kenna Muimands.

1. Kandal	1. Torzhaldf	Narâl Kantshu.
	2. Karzhaldf	Ponâl Kantshu.
2. Kandiko	Térvalth.	
3. Ar	Tilthbóa	Karidzand (2 bells here so called).

* Measurements:—

From top of roof to ground	16′
Inside diameter, north to south	9′ 2″
Do. do. east to west	8′ 2″
Outer circumference two feet above ground	34′
Height of doorway, inner and outer	1′ 7″
Breadth do. do.	1′ 2″
From eaves to ground	3′ 5″

The door faces West. The interior is in two compartments, divided by seven thick beams standing on end. The centre beam, in which the inner doorway is cut, is about 1½ feet broad, and reaches from the ground to the conical top. The other six beams are of like thickness, but of less breadth and length.

3; Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

Kuttan Muimands.

Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Kodanâd	Mûsdshyâld	Kérshandk.
2. Pangôd	Pêrgârsh.	
3. Âr	Tîrzh pâlsh (in ruins).	
4. Nirzh	Ponarshaldf.	
5. Kanorzh	Muderzhva.	

Todi Muimands.

1. Puirtâl	Térvalth.	
2. Kârzhtîth	Kâtêtivâ.	
3. Âr	Kâjva	Kângŭar. Kânj.
4. Térshdêr	Korzhaldf.	
5. Kérkŏkrzh	Musdshyâldf.	
6. Kúramârzh	Marzhaldf.	
7. Pun	Nirzâlva	Ândk.
8. Tarâr*	Terpivor Têkva Pêshhva	Ândk and Pândk (2 bells).
9. Nârsh	Mânboa. Ârialdf.	
10. Kûĕrsh	Kênaldf.	
11. Pârzhtâr	Karshaldf.	

The eleven *Muimands* of the Peïkis belong to three families. Six belong to the present chief Muttivên.

Besides the above-mentioned deities, the Todas also recognise a Hunting God called Bêtikhân, who lives at Nambilikote in Wainâd. They say he is a son of Dirkiah (who was a son of Ên, the first Toda) and "is now attended by Brahmans."

In spite of this formidable pantheon, the Toda religion is of the vaguest and smallest kind. Some old men of a devout turn of mind make salâm to the rising sun (*Birsh*), and at some seasons to the moon (*Tiggal*),† and fast at eclipses, and occasionally they may prostrate themselves at the door of the *Pâlthchi*, but no one except the *pûjâri* attempts anything beyond this. "May all be well!" "May the buffaloes be well!" is the only form of prayer. What their idea of a God is, it is not easy to say. Except the Bells, to which the *pûjâris* occasionally offer libations of milk, they have no material object of worship; they do not appeal to their Mand God by name, nor do they seem to expect that he will show them special favour; in fact, the names of their Gods, like some of their funeral ceremonies, seem more like the fossil remains of an extinct religion, than parts of a living creed.

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* Bad. Târsâl. *Pl.* vm.

† Sometimes they also salute a lamp when first lit. In all these cases the salutation consists in raising the right hand to the face, the first finger resting on the nose.

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

It is said that the munds and the other gods assemble there, and their approach and departure are known to the Todas when they see whirlwinds going into or leaving the dairy. All lamps when they are extinguished at night go to this dairy to provide light in case the gods are holding a night-assembly.

§4. The prayer at each dairy is made up of a list of names of objects connected with the dairy-complex, in forms usually different from their ordinary names. These are the kūasm (the word is best translated as "sacred name"). For each mund (in sense 2 of footnote 4) there is a pair of kūasm, as also for the people of the sib as a whole (among the toiṛθaṣoi̯ moiety, but not among the töüfi̯ṣoi̯), for the buffaloes of the sib, and for the funeral-munds, tɪ̈-dairies (i.e. the most sacred grade of dairy which never has dwelling houses attached), and their buffaloes. Some of the more important mountains, rivers, Badaga villages, and other localities on the Nilgiris have similar pairs of kūasm, while all the other less important localities, small streams, valleys, ravines, hills, groves and the paths through them, level grounds and rocky grounds on the hills, buffalo tracks, etc., have a name and at least one kūasm by which they are mentioned in prayers. All these places are regarded as being closely associated with some mund, generally the nearest one. In addition, within the mund there are dairies, pens, calf-sheds, watering-places, rocks, cooking-places used at ceremonies, trees, shady places where the people sit, all with names and at least one kūasm which is used in prayers. The bells in dairies are also named. All such things and places are referred to in songs also by the kūasm.

MEN'S NAMES

§5. Each sib then has associated with it a large number of names and kūasm, most of them with sacred associations. It is from these that men are named. In many cases a name is used without change. ŭwṣoiṛ of the meḷgaɪsoi̯ (48, Ushadr) is named after the chief male funeral-place of the sib. paɪng (47, Pongg) is named after a bell in one of the dairies of the sib. maɪkaɪs of the kaɪsoi̯ (10, Makars) has the name of one of the tɪ̈-places of this sib. toɪṛi̯ṣi̯ of the kaɪsoi̯ (15, Tarziolv) has the name of the kurpoi̯j dairy at the mund kaɪs. komdŭɪɪ of the toɪroɪṛoi̯ (23, Kandu) is named after the pen of the kogfoi̯j dairy at the mund toɪroɪṛ. pepoɪb of the meḷgaɪsoi̯ (44, Pepob) has the name of a snake said to live at kuɪṛaɪs, a mund of the sib. körroɪṛɪ̆ŭmṭn of the köɪroɪṛoi̯ (26, Keradrkutan) has as his name the second kūasm of the people of the sib. oɪṭjaṛz of the puṛgoɪroi̯ (34, Atlurs) has the second kūasm of the people of the sib. munombiʃṭj, son of koɪṭsiθj (12, Kacheidi) has one of the kūasm of the buffaloes of his sib.

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

§6. Most frequently some modification is made in the name. Often this is done to avoid a personal name that is in use simultaneously or that has been used in a previous generation. See e.g. tæɵ̈j in §12 and tæɵ̈jxæm, the name of his great-grandson explained in §16. tɯɪpɯɪsxɵ̈ɯɪʈɲ, son of tæɪpəx (20, Teipakh), and tɯɪfnɯɪs (25, Tiveners) are both called after the kogfoʃ̈j dairy at the mund toɪroɪɪ, which is named tɯɪpɯɪsforɵ̈. In the case of one man pənɯɪs (23, Paners), I was told that his real name is kɔmɯɪs, which is the first kɵ̈ɯɪsm of the mund pəʃtɯɪr of the toɪroɪroʃ̈, but that a real kɵ̈ɯɪsm of a mund cannot be used in addressing a man for fear he may suffer misfortune or die. The name pənɯɪs is based on the second kɵ̈ɯɪsm of this mund, pəɪngub, with unusual changes. This explanation may be correct, but two men of this same sib are called by the unchanged kɵ̈ɯɪsm of two munds which were abandoned so long ago that the real names are not remembered, viz. ɵɪkjəʃ̈ (24, Irkiolv) after the kɵ̈ɯɪsm ɵɪrɲɯɪs, ɵɪkjəʃ̈, and oɪxɵ̈ɯɪlɲ (24, Orguln) after the kɵ̈ɯɪsm oɪrɲɯɪs, oɪxɵ̈ɯɪlɲ; the kɵ̈ɯɪsm are remembered from their use in the prayer of the calf-sacrifice of this sib. That we are not dealing in these two cases with munds whose gods are regarded as no longer existent is clear, for kiɪrɲɯɪs of the niɾjoʃ̈ (43, Kidrners) derives his name from the unchanged second kɵ̈ɯɪsm of the mund niɾj, and oɾjxɯɪs of the mɵ̈ɪroʃ̈ (16, Odikars) from the unchanged second kɵ̈ɯɪsm of the mund pən. In fact, so long as an abandoned mund is remembered at all, it may be reoccupied, and it seems clear that the Todas do not believe that the god vanishes when a mund is abandoned.

§7. Modification follows a number of patterns, some of them not always clear. If a place-name is being adapted, such suffixes or second members of compounds which characterize the locality are frequently dropped entirely or replaced by others. E.g. tɵ̈ɯɪmod (24, Teimad) < a valley (pəʃ) called tɵ̈ɯɪmodʃəʃ. məgoj (24, Mogai) < məgojnæɪs "cubit (məgoj)-shade (næɪs)," a shady place at the male funeral-place tyʃtsɵ̈ɯɪ of his sib.[9] kəkaɪr (20, Kakar) < kəkaɪrxɵ̈ɯɪt, an open place in the middle of thickets (kɵ̈ɯɪt) near the mund toɪroɪr. See also kæm in §16. If another suffix is used, it sometimes is one that is appropriate to the locality, as in kiɵ̈jmuɾj (20, Kidimudri) < kiɵ̈jmɯɪn, a mountain; mun is the peak of a hill and muɾj may have the same meaning, though it denotes most generally the top of anything which is shaped well, e.g. a conical dairy, a gracefully spreading tree, a man's hair cut in the style peculiar to the Todas. It is probably substituted here because of this emotive connotation.

[9] Rivers (p. 622) supposed wrongly that this man was named "from the language of everyday life." His name is undoubtedly the same as the common noun in phonetics, but derived as it is by entailment of a place-name associated with the sib, its connotations are very different from those of the common noun.

8;Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

§8. In many of the names the substituted suffix is -küɯɪr. This is clearly the noun küɯɪr "stream," "path," or "horn." One man küɑɪngüɯɪr (63, Kwongudr) is named after küɑɪngüɯɪr, the meeting place of the assembly of the tribe; the place-name is that of a stream flowing in the valley at this place. noɪngüɯɪr (62, Nargudr) <a stream and pool near the mund tögoɪr. In some other personal names it is probable that this suffix has reference to a stream; e.g. iɪʂxüɯɪr (21, Idrshkwòdr) <iɪʂfaʃ, a valley (paʃ) near the mund toɪnoɪr; iɪdzxüɯɪr (23, Idjkudr) <iɪdzfaʃ, a valley near the mund paʃtoɪr; in both these cases the valley has a stream. töɪsxüɯɪr (63, Terkudr) <a path near the mund ærpɯɜgoɪr. In many other names however -küɯɪr can have no reference to a stream or a path, and there is great probability that the word küɯɪr has its other meaning "horn;" so in fact the Todas analyze the names. The horns of their buffaloes are much admired by the Todas, and in such a buffalo-centred culture it is not surprising that "horn" should be an element in names. This use is clear in such a name as kæɪnxüɯɪr (62, Kangudr), where kæɪn refers to a sacred buffalo of his sib. Such a case as kerxüɯɪr (63, Kergudr) <the mund kerxoɪr, is much less obvious and is clearly of the same nature as those names discussed in §9. The word has come to be felt as a suffix that may be used with little regard to the meaning but merely for the connotive force. For the specific origin of the use we may, however, reasonably look to the use of stream-names and path-names and the presence in the language of the homonyms küɯɪr "stream" or "path" and küɯɪr "horn."[7]

[7] I have made this specific analysis for the benefit of psychologists who may wish to find in these personal names a phallic significance. Such a significance is certainly not there on the surface. Moreover, in the erotic songs which I have recorded, where phallic symbolism is to be looked for, the horn does not occur as a phallic symbol. A number of such symbols that are used are given in the following paragraphs.

The most common symbolism that is to be regarded as sexual is that of the bee and the flower: a specimen of this type is given in *The Songs of the Todas*, p. 551. I also remark there that the same metaphor is used of a man catching a buffalo at a funeral, and finally in a marginal use to describe the activities of the bed-bug.

In one of the songs in which a woman is represented as talking about the party that had come to carry her off to give her in marriage to an old man comes the couplet:

puʃyɯɪtʃ	paɪk ɯɪfɯs
flower-lime fruit	crowd-for I became
toʃjomod	tuɪk ɯɪfɯs
pole-who are-men	bushes-to they became

i.e. "for the crowd of Toda men I have become a lime; men who are (or, who have) long poles have hidden in the bushes to carry me off." The toʃʃa a long pole carried at a two-day funeral; reference to the lime is common in such connections, especially as a vocative addressed to a beautiful woman. The informants said that in this passage there is another meaning, viz. that since the husband is old, she thinks that all the Todas will come to have intercourse with

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

§11. Another frequent suffix is -nuɪs. It is found also in a number of kũasm of munds and in these it is possible to find a meaning for it. E.g. myɪnj of the kuɪrũuṭoɪ/ is the place where the gods hold their assembly (cf. §3); its first kũasm is paɪrnuɪs which is interpreted by the Todas as "standing-place (nĩĩs) of the 1600 (paɪrnuɪr) gods." There seems to be no reason to doubt this interpretation; the gods are said in a song-pair to be 1600 (paɪrnuɪr) and 1800 (puɪṭṭuɪr) in number. If this is correct, nuɪs, found only as a suffix or second member of a compound, is to be connected with the verb stem nuɪl- "to stand;" the change of l to s is paralleled elsewhere in the language. So also the kũasm koɪnuɪs of the mund nyɪḷṇ of the meḷgaɪsoɪ/ is to be interpreted as koɪn-nuɪs "the place of the god koɪn;" koɪn or koɪnõõ is the mountain near this mund. The first kũasm of the mund meḷgaɪs is naɪsnuɪs, clearly to be connected with the two kũasm of the people of this sib, naɪsṯoɪr, naɪsṯep, the first of which has the element toɪr which means the endogamous moiety toɪrṯaɪsoɪ/ as a whole or the people of each sib of this moiety. The first kũasm of the buffaloes of this sib, naɪsṟḷṇ, is also to be adduced, and the name of the pen at meḷgaɪs, naɪsrũuɪ (i.e. naɪs-tũuɪ "pen"), which is also the name of a man (45, Narso). What the element naɪs means is quite unknown; but naɪsnuɪs is "the place of the naɪs." Two munds, kḷuɪr of the kuɪrũuṭoɪ/ and kũaɪṟyṇj of the puɪrgoɪroɪ/, have kũaṯæmuɪs as their first kũasm. This is undoubtedly to be interpreted as "the standing-place of kũaṯæm (the semi-mythical hero who was one of the mõõroɪ/ sib);" what connection he had with these two munds is unknown. Two place-names, not kũasm, with this element are poɪ/jnuɪs "the place of the funeral-ḥut," a male funeral-place of the kuɪrũuṭoɪ/, and maɪnuɪs, a female funeral-place of the mõõroɪ/, with unknown prior member. It is now established that the element -nuɪs is appropriate in place-names and kũasm of munds. A brother of moɪngiɪṟj (15, Mongeithl), not recorded in the tables, is kḷuɪdnuɪs, whose name is the first kũasm of the mund kiʃker of his sib. kaɪsnuɪs (56, Karsners) < the first kũasm of the mund taɪmuɪx of his sib. The name kiɪnuɪs (26, Kiner) is derived from kiɪnuʃnuɪs, the first kũasm of the mund kõõroɪr, either by omission of the second syllable or by loss of the third syllable and rebuilding of the second on the pattern of other personal names ending in -nuɪs. For it is certain that -nuɪs is now felt as a

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is worked out, we shall not know whether the homonymy is of long standing or very recent, and the chronology should, I think, be taken into account in making any psychoanalytic study. It may be remarked, however, that the meanings "gold" and "privates of a young girl" have been represented by homonyms sufficiently long so that the first word is under a taboo in circumstances where the language-taboo work (see *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, p. 180).

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

55 193 suitable ending for personal names. E.g. panuɪ and tuɪɾnuɪ (§6); kŭuɪɾjnuɪ (25, Kudeners) <the relic-burning place kŭuɪɾjonoʊm at the funeral-place tyɾtaŭuɪ; piɨdjnuɪ (21, Püldenir) <piɨdjxaɾfem, the slope of a hill near the mund kŭuɪrnuɪ; nertnuɪ (24, Nertiners) <nerpaʃt, an alternative name, or unerpaʃt, the first kŭaɾm, of the mund tæɨgŭuɪr.

[103] §12. Another suffix of quite unknown meaning, but probably originally at home in place-names, is -iθj. ertaiθj (20, Ircheidi) is taken without change from the name of a hill near the mund kaɾkoɾ. All the other names with this suffix that I can derive show it as a suffix or as a substitute for some other element; e.g. tuɾiθj (20, Tirseidi) <tukiɾjxöɪr, a pool at the mund toɪroɪr. He was a brother of ertaiθj, but his eldest brother, and so his name was not influenced by the latter's, but vice versa, and both were probably influenced either in formation or in choice by that of their father tæɾj. This last name is puzzling, but is said to be derived from tæɾf, the name of the mountain near the mund toɪroɪr, and we may suspect that -θj is related to the suffix -iθj. Two other brothers of tuɾiθj have names with the same formative -iθj, tuɲɲiθj (Tanpeidi) <kŭuɪʈŭuɲɲ, the raised grassy mound (tuɲɲ) where the corpse is laid at the funeral-place tyɾtaŭuɪ, and muɖbiθj (Madbeithi) <muɖboɪθuʈ, a mountain near toɪroɪr. paikiθj (21, Parkeidi) <paikefem, the slope of a hill near the mund kaɾkoɾ. toɪliθj (24, Tòleidi) <toɪlfaɾu, a stream (paɪu) near the mund tæɨgŭuɪr. It was said that puɨlkiθj (22, Pulkeidi) was named after the mund puɨlkŭuɪr and the mountain kiθjmuɪn near the mund kŭuɪrnuɪ; this is possible, but derivation from puɨlkŭuɪr alone is possible in view of the preceding examples. kydɾiθj (21, Kudɾtheidi) <kyd, a male funeral-place of the toɪroɪroɪl. kŭuɪʈiθj (21, Kuteidi) <kŭuɪʈŭuɲɲ, see tuɲɲiθj above. These two men were brothers, an elder brother was paikiθj (explained above), their father was petŭuɪθj and another elder brother was oɪrdŭuɪθj; the similarity of endings is striking, and is paralleled by various similarities of ending (such as that given earlier in this paragraph) or of beginning in various families. The ending found in the last two names is probably -tŭuɪθj. I know it in these names only. oɪrdŭuɪθj (Arthothi) derives from oɪrboɪl, an open stretch of ground (toɪl) near the mund ɛrtoɪl. The origin of petŭuɪθj (Perathothi) is unknown.

§13. Another ending is -oɖɾ; e.g. kaɪnoɖɾ (21, Keinodɾ) <kaɪnaɪl, the ŭuɪɾoɪl dairy at the mund kaɾkoɾ. This ending appears preceding another suffix in the name of tyɟɟoɖɾxŭuɪr, son of toɪliθj (24), named after tyɟɟpuɪl, a path through a thicket near toɪroɪr; tyɟɟɾŭuɪr would have been possible, but this name is borne by another man, as is also tyɟɟoɖɾ (62, Tilloɖɾ), which is derived from kaɪtyɟ, the kŭaɾm of the gateposts of the pen at the mund piɾ.

102
103
131
133

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

Map III. The Nilgiris. For the Toda *mads*, readers are referred to Rivers, *The Todas* (see Bibliography).

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

The men are profusely bearded and wear their hair "bobbed", in a heavy mop without a parting. The women, when adult and married, dress theirs in very many long curls hanging down to their shoulders. They are elaborately tattooed on chin, torso, arms, knees and feet, in imitation of necklaces, bracelets and bangles. The face is done before maturity, the arms, knees and feet after, while the necklace is added after the first child is born. Both sexes wear the same clothes except for the under-garments: a toga-like wrap, the *putkuli*, white with edges striped red and black and sometimes enhanced by embroidery of the same colours. The Todas must be one of the few peoples in the world among whom men and women are dressed alike.

For the last decade the tribe has been a dying one, and from the personal census which I took with Kanvarsathi[1] in 1949, it appeared that there were only 488 Todas left. I give this census below; it was taken according to the principal mads, the names of which are given here in Toda, and not in Badaga which is otherwise the usual practice in the Nilgiris (for the corresponding appellations, see Rivers, *The Todas*, Appendix III, p. 734 and following):

No.	Name of *mads* (in Toda)	Men	Women	Children	Total
1	Karsh	12	8	0	20
2	Kishkier	4	7	2	13
3	Kiüshu	7	6	1	14
4	Melgarsh	12	11	7	30
5	Mign	5	4	1	10
6	Poln	5	5	1	11
7	Tör	3	4	1	8
8	Paletkwar	4	3	3	10
9	Or	5	4	0	9
10	Kuur	3	2	1	6
11	Arjmad	2	1	0	3
12	Penavarsh	7	2	1	10
13	Nattersh	12	8	11	31
14	Nirgodsh	2	1	1	4
15	Mörkor	3	2	4	9
16	Tögor	2	3	0	5
17	Apersgor	3	3	0	6
18	Pakharkwur	2	2	0	4
19	Kakhwurkh	13	8	3	24
20	Paghor	7	4	4	15

[1] My interpreter, see Appendix 2.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

No.	Name of *mads* (in Toda)	Men	Women	Children	Total
21	Patdhue	4	4	0	8
22	Karie	7	5	4	16
23	Norsh	11	13	4	28
24	Tavatkhiur	5	4	3	12
25	Kiudi	3	2	0	5
26	Kiur	2	2	4	8
27	Molkursh	5	3	0	8
28	Tivalkun	3	2	0	5
29	Pudmad	4	3	8	15
30	Artalkh	13	9	6	28
31	Tarar	13	10	8	31
32	Mortkiar	3	5	3	11
33	Konorj	4	3	3	10
34	Nirkh	3	2	4	9
35	Inkit	6	7	3	16
36	Kwordhoni	13	8	2	23
37	Pörgarsh	6	6	1	13
	Total	218	176	95 *	488

* Of which 44 were boys and 50 girls.

In 1952, the Toda population had further dropped to the all time low figure of 475, but at the time of writing (1954), it seems that in the last two years there have been 58 births and 21 deaths only, which now makes the total number of the tribe 512 – in marked progress away from the tragic trend towards extinction, which has been so pronounced since the days of Rivers. This author mentions a census taken in 1901 (*The Todas*, pp. 469 & 473), but since that date, no reliable figures are available. That was the reason for which I decided to make my own count of the Toda population. Kanvarsathi and I went round to every single *mad* in turn, and apart from recording persons present, obtained reliable information about those who were absent at the time of our visits.

Apart from Europeans, Indian Maharajas and their staffs, domestic servants and shopkeepers who have come up from the plains with them, and the Mysorean cultivators whose numbers are growing continually, other inhabitants of the Nilgiris, who are indigenous, like the Todas, are the Badagas, Kotas, Kurumbas, and Irulas. Their relations with the original Nilgiri tribe, who look upon themselves as the "Lords of the Soil", believing as they do, that they were created there by their

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

In religion, the Todas are definitely not Hindu. They do go on pilgrimage to Hindu shrines, and their diviners have some sort of esoteric contact with temples in Malabar. But the Toda faith is not of the orthodox Hindu kind, and their gods have quite different names and natures.[1]

Today, the Toda gods are very hazy figures. What has happened is that with the passage of time, ritual has come to play so important a part in religious practices, that a clear conception of the deities is now quite beyond the Todas. From the elders whom I questioned (especially Ujar, 48)[2] – they are the only persons who know something about this nowadays – I obtained, however, information concerning an intricate and rich mythology. This describes an early period in which the gods moved freely with men in the Nilgiris. They led the same kind of pastoral life as the latter do today, caring for their herds of buffaloes and processing their milk in their dairy-temples. Only some of these gods are reputed to be still present on the plateau, each living on the summit of a distinctive hill.

It will not be necessary to enlarge here upon the Toda religion. Rivers' account of it, to which readers are again referred, is, broadly speaking, accurate and exhaustive, and will be enough to give a very good idea of its nature. The principal gods most frequently mentioned by the Todas and about whom it will be sufficient to know in the present connection are the following: 1) *Ön*, the Lord of the Underworld (*Amnor*) to which he retired after a long period in the Nilgiris; while he was still living there, he created, together with his wife, *Pinakursh*, men (*Olkh* = Todas) as well as the Toda sacred buffaloes; 2) *Terkish*, the sister of Ön; she is by far the leading Toda deity, amounting to a protective tribal mother-goddess, of whom you hear continually; she is reputed to have stayed behind in the Nilgiris when Ön retired to Amnor; she has her earthly residence at the summit of a hill called Tödhut near Ootacamund; the Todas say that she is, however, omnipresent, to be found anywhere in the world; in their language, the Blue Mountains are called after her, *Terkishnor*, or the land of Terkish.

[1] During my last stay in the Nilgiris, it was my good fortune to discover what appeared to me to be eleven Sumerian deities among the six hundred or so gods and goddesses which compose the Toda pantheon, something which would go to indicate a very early cultural connection indeed with the world of Antiquity (*Possible Sumerian Survivals in Toda Ritual*, by the same author, see Bibliography).

[2] Whenever a Toda name is followed by a number such as here, the latter refers to the corresponding genealogical table in *The Todas*, by W. H. R. Rivers.